CASE STUDY 3
MALAWI (AL)

Table of contents

refie

refie

1   Introduction

Location

The Primary School is in the Eastern part on Malawi. The school was established in 1953.

Leadership, Management and Governance

The school is under a leadership of a male head teacher and deputised by a female teacher who is a Muslim. In the head teacher's office, there is a great deal of information on its walls displaying the organisational structures in the school such as School Management Committee, Parent Teachers Committee, Mother Group Committee, Discipline Committee, Welfare Committee among others. There is also information on the organisations assisting the schools. There is also information on the number of teachers, their names and their responsibilities at the school including clubs and societies they manage. The language of instruction at this school is English and Chichewa. However, the dominant home language of the children is Chichewa and Yao.

Rates of attendance: The school has 1257 learners, 545 boys and 712 girls. 90 learners have been identified with a variety of learning difficulties (half boys, half girls) as well as disabilities including physical disabilities and low vision and hearing impairments. These children are called 'special needs children' in the schools. The overall school attendance rate tends to drops in the higher standards with the highest attendance being in the first two standards (std 1: 292, std 2: 254) and moderate in standard 3 to 6 (std 3: 159/std 6: 115) and the lowest in standards 7 (61) and 8 (58). There is a higher attendance of girls through all grades compared to boys. School records also indicate that there are 427 orphans at the school.

Teacher profile and qualifications: Currently, the school has 35 teachers with no itinerant teacher as well as no Special Needs Education (SNE) teacher. The majority of the teachers are female (21 out of total of 35). There are also a large number of student teachers for both Initial Primary Teacher Education and ODL. Almost all teachers have a Malawi School Certificate of Examination (MSCE), one (female) teacher has a Junior Certificate Examination (JCE).

Physical setting of the school

The school is nearby an Early Childhood Centre which provides access for most of the learners that surround it.

It was also noted that the school has benefited from CAMFED, UNICEF (Child Friendly Schools programme), ADRA (Adventist Development Relief Agency) feeding programme, PAIR, Water AID, CRECOM, GIZ, DFID and the community on the fishing programme among others. There is a kitchen for porridge preparation which was constructed with support from Campaign for Female Education in Malawi (CAMFED). At the school, there are established a Mother Support Group, Young Mother Support Group, Fathers Support Groups and a SMC/PTA.

The school has four new blocks and one old block, a head teacher's office, staffroom which was turned into a library, a conference room which was turned into a counselling unit. The playgrounds are not neat, and although clear paths between buildings have been laid out, some of them are rather uneven. Toilet facilities seem not to be adequate and some are not accessible for children with physical disabilities. The head teacher's office is small and is in one of the newer buildings and as already

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mentioned there are various notices on the walls reflect the organisations structures. Posters describing the vision and the mission of the school are also on the walls. Most of the classroom blocks have blocks which were constructed by the Department for International Development Assistance and the classrooms have desks. The school buildings are spread around a large area. The school has a borehole which learners share with the head teacher's house and the other two teacher's houses. The school grounds are not very clean.

The school has established a library. They turned a teachers' staff room into a library. There are large trees surrounding the school with three fish ponds that are used by the Mother Group to generate an income for the school. There is no staff room for teachers at the school.

2   Micro-level

2.1   Concept of inclusive education

The teachers strongly refer to the dimensions of access and acceptance with regard to their concept of inclusion. The emphasis on acceptance may result from the predominant inclusive culture at the school that is supported by the head teacher.

Professionals: Teachers

The teachers refer to mainly to the dimensions of access and acceptance. In the following quote one teacher emphasizes the access of learners regardless of their status:

> *"Interviewer 1: Ok, fine, so if we look at education in general and if we look at access to education which aspects do you consider as important?*
> *Respondent: Education in general or to the disabled only?*
> *Interviewer 1: in general, in general, yes*
> *Interviewer2: For every child to have access to education regardless of any status.*
> *Interviewer 1: What do you consider as very important for schooling? Here we are including everyone, that's why we are saying inclusive." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 73-77)*

Furthermore they also refer to the dimension of acceptance:

> *"Policies, we are told that every child, when we have children in classes, we should we should treat them equally including those who are disabled, for example maybe one has difficulties with hearing we should not remind them of their not hearing and we treat them equally. If we have children with hearing or sight problems we don't tell them that we are doing that because of their problem, we tell them politely that they should not see themselves as different from others and that fellow learners should also not find a chance to discriminate against them." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 280)*

Nevertheless, there is no assurance that their understanding is not due to a deep conviction regarding the policy of inclusive education.

Professionals: Head teacher

First of all, the head teacher refers to various groups of disadvantaged children in his description of what he thinks inclusive education is. And he mainly refers to a physical attendance of disadvantaged groups.

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> *"I tell teachers and they know as well, that every child whether disabled or whatever should be taken as a normal person by his friends and sometimes those children are given responsibilities, they do what are other able students do, we also encourage parents who have these children to bring them here at school. We also make children to interact with special need learners. They should all sit in the desk with their friends and should not be isolated. When we put him or her at the corner, it looks like they are useless. Even when doing physical education we allow them to interact. We try to make it inclusive."* (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 22)

However, he also refers to a critical incident that influenced his personal concept of inclusive education.

> *"I remember when I was in primary school, we had [name] but this person died, he was first visually impaired graduate in Zomba at Chancellor College and had a picture together with the late Kamuzu Banda. This is where I learnt that the disabled can do it."* (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 25)

This also can be regarded as important with respect to the kind of recommendation he emphasizes to improve inclusive education, namely sensitization in order to change peoples and parents' mindsets (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 24, 25).

> *"People just think that the disabled are not able and cannot do anything. If parents were shown pictures of people like him during meetings, they can be convinced that this is true and real."* (25)

> *Furthermore he equals inclusive education and what he calls 'civic education' (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 97).*

In this sense this refers to a certain understanding of education as a human right.

> *"As I have already said. We accept all the students equally whether cripped or infected with HIV/AIDS. Thanks to civic education. We understand that we should treat equally all the students."* (98)

However, a conflict becomes apparent with regard to disciplinary strategies and the link to inclusive education. Disciplinary strategies in his view seem to be a reasonable and essential pedagogic strategy that even supports inclusive education (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 73-76). He refers to the encouragement of teachers not to use corporal punishment but to use alternative strategies as supported by government policies:

> *"I advise teachers to avoid corporal punishment, keeping student to stand up for the rest of lesson while his or her friends mock the student being punished. Such punishments make students lose concentration in class. I encourage the teachers to let the learners sweep or water flowers around the school compound after lessons."* ((teachers confirm this), 86)

Parents/members of the PTA

Discussing issues of discrimination affecting various children in the school one member of PTA draws the conclusion that a separate Special school would protect 'disabled' students.

> *"There is need for government to build a Special School for the learners with disabilities in [name of district] because there are many children with learning difficulties. I have a deaf child who come here at the school."* (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 62).

Though most of the voices referring to inclusive education emphasize enabling all children to go to the local school most of the comments are not that clear about how to include these children adequately in regular classes. The extreme opposites of 'mainstreaming them by default' or delivering special support by separating SNE learners in this sense may still play a crucial role.

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2.2   Access

2.2.1   Attitude towards school

Students: Girls

Most of the girls expressed that they have role models and have clear ideas about what they try to achieve, like being a nurse, a teacher or a lawyer (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 24-26, 36, 109, 110). Furthermore they speak about going to school to develop certain skills (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 38, 39, 46, 47). Beside that they refer to favourite , like mathematics and Chichewa, expressive arts as well as Social, Life Skills (86, 90, 92, 94, 100, 112) and club activities, like drama club (46, 47, 51, 51). Additionally children state that they like the teachers at the school (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014).

Students: SNE students

Like the girls these students refer to different subjects that they like. Mostly they mention reading and mathematics. Moreover they like the facilities of the school that obviously are in a good shape (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 58-88, 90-99). Like the girls the students refer to teachers helping them to have the opportunity to ask questions at the end of each lesson. Nevertheless, they explain that they are punished if they fail to give the right answer (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 100-113). Moreover, the students appreciate disciplinary measures as a strategy teachers use to keep the discipline in class (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 115). In contrast one student refers to an experience of corporal punishment by one teacher to the extent that his or her arm was broken. In these cases it is important for the children to have someone that can intervene for them. In this instance this student told his parents who came to school. Nevertheless, the teacher is still at this school though was moved to another class. This also hints at the possible acceptance of corporal punishment by the head teacher. The students also referred to one specific teacher that seems to be very harsh. (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 123, 127-131).

2.2.2   Drop out or lacking attendance

The various participants point out to different reasons for children to drop out from school. Mainly these are due to poverty and lacking financial resources (Mother support group/MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 36, 78, 170) as well as traditional views of the unimportance of formal education in the community (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 163).

Several participants (e.g. students, head teacher, father group) referred to the school fees that some children cannot afford. Although primary education has been free since 1994 schools demand a fee for a developmental fund. The head teacher explains that in this school there is a need to pay for security arrangements.

The mother support group for instance refer to household problems in general that keep the children from coming to school. This tendency to drop out is reflected in the statistical data on drop out that shows that whereas many children initially attend school they tend to drop out after their first year in school (Education statistics, MoEST 2013). This affects the children in different life situations differently (see most disadvantaged groups).

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Students: Girls

One girl explained that she has many friends that do not go to school (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 60). Furthermore girls claim that some friends are not interested in education or do not have the material or financial resources including clean clothes to go to school (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 62, 64, 68, 80-84) They also refer to gender-related reasons: boys have to work to earn money (transport for bicycles) and girls "get married and stay home" (78) (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 72-76, 78).

Students: SNE learners

Similar to the girls the students refer to children who drop out or do not even attend school because they are not interested in education and would rather play (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 234-241). The families of others cannot afford to pay the school the fee of K200 (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 254-260). They also refer to children that don't dare coming to school because they have "not [...] enough clothes" (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 243) or no clean clothes. Obviously they fear not being accepted at the school.

Others drop out of school because of lacking acceptance. They refer to a girl that is mocked because of her physical prematurity.

Parents: Father group

One father explained that lack of education of parents is one of the reasons for them not to encourage children to go to school. He also states that he sees societal change with regard to this issue. While parents today fail to encourage their children the next generation will encourage because they are educated. Obviously he refers to a growing acceptance or importance of education:

> "I am a [name of ethnic group] by tribe and what I see as the main reasons why many children do not go to school in this [name of ethnic group] region is that most of the parents are not educated. Here is the problem, when a parent is not educated, it is difficult for a child to go to school because there is no one to push him/her to school and even the children underrate their parents because they know their parents are not educated and do not know anything about education unless there is someone educated who can encourage the children to go to school and push them every morning. Parents need to be a little bit harsh so what I see is that most parents are not educated but I believe that in future, in the coming years when these children grow up, they will encourage their children because they are now getting educated." (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 63)

The father group also discussed the fee that is needed to pay to the school and there are some contrasting views on this. This also was referred to the PEA (primary education advisor at the TDC). The father group seems to have a strong opinion and they prefer to send the students back home if they don't pay because they are convinced everyone is able to afford it. Nevertheless, they are not sure how the money is handled in the school Though there seems to be an arrangement that students who do not pay the money are sent back home the school committee has another opinion regarding the consequences if the students are not sent back home:

> "We have been holding meetings with parents and we also took it up to the TDC (Teacher Development Centre where the Primary Education Advisor (PEA) is base) and were told that if learners are not paying, we should call the parents and make by laws that learners should be asked to go and collect the money home to go in class. That's what we agreed but the school committee does not send them away although

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we have such an agreement and we even wrote a letter from the district education office and the PEA on that issue. So it's difficult to point at what development we have done at this school because children are not paying. We only manage to buy locks for the classrooms and toilets for security."
(MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 128).

Nevertheless, they also explain that the parents do not receive examinations results of the children if they don't pay this fee (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 136).

2.2.3 Traditional values and customs: Initiation ceremonies

There is a strong emphasis on the role of traditional values and customs and almost all participants (teachers, head teacher, young/mother support group, PTA, chief ...) refer to the crucial aspect of girls' education and the predominance of traditional customs and initiation ceremonies that especially hinder the girls' access to education. Nevertheless, the teachers for instance point out to the consequences it has for other groups for instance boys as well. Moreover all point out to the importance of sensitization of the community and the parents. Furthermore the mentioned groups emphasise the importance of readmission strategies and role models. With respect to readmission policies they also refer to the importance of patrolling communities and checking if children have returned to school.

Students: Girls

The girls explain that still many girls undergo such initiation ceremonies. They explain that they are not told about education but tradition. Moreover they are told to accept sexual intercourse with even older men; that's why most of them get pregnant. As the mother group they refer to the obscene language (that is still used today- this seems to be a contrast with one of the mothers interpretation) which causes bad behaviour of some girls that underwent these ceremonies. Moreover they state that these ceremonies are a relevant reason for girls' drop out. Only few girls they know continued school after they attended such a ceremony. Nevertheless, interestingly they explain that girls are free to attend or not attend such ceremony. Maybe they still are encouraged or even enforced but it seems to be a possibility to refuse to participate (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 287-295, 321-325).

"Interviewer 1: Do we have anybody who underwent the traditional initiation ceremony?
Respondent: Yes. Because your mother has no any relation. So it is better just to get married.
Interviewer 1: So how is it helpful to your education and school life?
Respondent: They say nothing about school, they just talk of tradition morals.
Interviewer 2: Why is it that when you come back from the initiation ceremony you become rude if you say they teach morals?
Respondent: It's the person's ignorance, but it is also what you are taught there because mostly they use obscene words. So they tell us, we are on the same age with the older people and are told not to fear them once we get out.
Interviewer 1: What is it that you are taught there so that when you come out most of you get pregnant?
Respondent: Those who are forced to get into the initiation ceremony act recklessly when they come out of the ceremony and such are the people who get pregnant. There are also other practices like kusasa fumbi (Cleansing) which are taught and lead to such an ending."
(MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 287-295)

Parents: PTA

Respondent 3, member of PTA, refers to a shift that has taken place with regard to a decline of importance of initiation ceremonies: "*In the past we believed that when a child goes to initiation ceremony, it was difficult for him/her to go back to school but this has been reduced. Parents find it*

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difficult to be responsible for the children due to technology. Children fail to study because of this technology." (32)

Instead a new aspect is underlined, namely this aspect of technology (38). This kind of distraction is also mentioned by others. In terms of societal change this matches with a statement of one of the teachers (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 226). He/she also refers to a societal change that takes place.

Parents: Mother Support group

First of all they have much more information about what the girls are told:

> *"Respondent 1: I think it is because sometimes they are told how a baby is born and all.*
> *Respondent 2: All about how a husband and wife do in their house.*
> *Respondent: They are told everything about sex, how they can play with a woman, how pregnancies come, everything about sex so when they come back they want to try and looking at the woman, they know everything about her." (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 94-96).*

According to the members of this group one major challenge is that girls that are attending those ceremonies are very young nowadays (compared to their own experience). So they state the information received during those ceremonies seems to be highly inappropriate for girls of this young age (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 93).

Against the background of the discussion of initiation ceremonies and the its role and impact on the girls' education they also refer to the girls' stubborn behaviour at school One mother states sees the bad behaviour reinforced through the girls' participation in these ceremonies. She describes that those ceremonies have changed in a positive sense since they do not use obscene language anymore as one of the mothers remembers from her own experience (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 84). However, in her point of view the ceremonies are not the main problem but they represent a critical milestone in a girl's life which has a negative effect. Moreover other respondents discuss that this bad behaviour is not related to these ceremonies at all:

> *"I think what we have to say is that the world has just changed because all of us went through the same initiation ceremony despite that some of us did not go on with school but, here we are. And also there are other girls whether initiated or not but, they are well behaved. But, others are just wild so we can just say these days children are spoiled they do not respect elders."* *(MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 91).*

> *Other assumptions occur which relate this bad behaviour to the girls' family (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 88).*

Parents: Father Group

One father explains he sees a change regarding the importance of initiation ceremonies which was initiated by NGO's when they started to sensitize the community and to draw attention to the importance of education. He differentiates between parents that do ("wise parents", 65) and do not emphasize the importance of education which points out to his own point of view very clearly (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 65).

Like the mother group fathers also describe it as problematic that these ceremonies nowadays include younger children. Like the mothers as well they emphasise the problematic consequence that children do not even understand the content. They also mention the fact that these children are more likely to

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drop out of school than the older ones (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 69). Another problem related to it is that girls who get married and pregnant due to those ceremonies cannot be a good role model for those children and often cannot deliver the support their children need. So they point to a vicious circle that is caused by lacking education for the young mothers (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 70).

Moreover they link the problem of early marriage also to the issue of poverty but they also refer to the vicious circle: Because young mothers cannot support the child by emphasizing the value of education and supporting their child financially the next generation also is more likely to marry early and get pregnant at a young age:

> *"Interviewer: Ok, so what makes the girls to get married early?*
> *Respondent: Mostly, it is due to poverty. You find that when the girls get married early, they have children early and yet they have no support and when their children grow up they face challenges and also end up getting married early for the man to support her." (72).*

Professionals: (Regular) teachers

(See also interrelation of acceptance and access)

Teachers describe that ceremonies provide certain knowledge about tradition and certain life aspirations which affects education negatively:

> *"Here I feel that the culture affects the behaviour of the children, especially initiation of girl children, because when they have undergone the initiation, they are told that they have matured, so because of that element, I have observed that most children who undergo this initiation after they have started menstrual period, two to three days they drop out of school. So it can be better if the initiation culture can still be there but they can take out some contents that they teach these children so that children should be able to understand that it is not that when they have undergone initiation they should get married, because we have seen a lot of girls, like one in my class went through initiation just last year but now she has a child she is married, but it not that she was old enough but I don't know what they are taught during the initiation. This behaviour of initiating girls when they have reached menstruation age, it makes them stop school." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 214)*

Affected groups: This affects girls as well as boys and vulnerable groups in general (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 216, 226)

With regard to boys' education this affects especially their participation in school and the behaviour of boys that then needs to be addressed with disciplinary measures. Some teachers describe the need that they have to react to this behaviour with punishment in order to demonstrate their own status

> *"Other beliefs are that when children go for initiation ceremony, they are told they are adults, so we meet problems that when that child comes to school, and we have rebuked him/her for a bad behaviour, you find his parents coming and shouting at us as on why we had to rebuke their child maybe up to the extent of calling him brother, so such beliefs affects children because they develop that feeling that they are adults and a teacher cannot do anything to them." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 219)*

> *There seems to be a difference between effects on girls' and boys' education. Whereas girls are affected by high drop out rates, teachers describe problems in boys' behaviour in the school (see participation). Not only participating but also joining ceremonies seem to hinder children going to school – additionally this one is reinforced by food that is offered on these special occasions (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 68, 217).*

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With regard to boys' education teachers describe that parents enforce students rather to work to earn money than to go to school. Here emerges another debate; this one between parents and teachers about the value of school and formal education (219, 226, 318).

> "I can say that all groups, because it seems it is coming from culture. The issue of education seems to be coming as a new thing in this area. So people still have a picture on how they were doing things a long time ago, then try to implement it even now so it is not that this is from a poor family or from a better family, or boy or girl it is just that what was happening in the past is being passed on to the present generation that such marriages are happening." (226)

Role models as a specific measure: The teachers emphasise the importance of role models. There are already role models like the mother group. Teachers state that their main task is to encourage children especially girls and also expand this idea, by doing "education trips to companies so they can meet employees who can be explaining their experiences for them" (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 308).

Professionals: Head teacher

He confirms the influence of initiation ceremonies on school attendance (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 25/6, 37-44, 63-70, 107-108). Additionally he sees a conflict between traditional customs and how this is promoted by the community (70, see also drop out). He emphasizes the growing importance of formal education especially for girls (he also discusses this issue for SNE learner, see SNE learners) and the need in this respect to change the mind set of people in terms of importance of what he calls "civic education" (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 26). He adds that the mother and father support groups visit parents of children who have dropped out to convince them and sensitize parents in general to the importance of education.

Chief/group village headman

Though he confirms the conflict between tradition and formal education and sees a need for sensitizing parents he sees only a limited responsibility in his position:

> "Interviewer 1: What about when the children have come back from the initiation ceremony, it is hard for the children to go on with school they drop out. How can we solve this problem?
> Respondent: Here only parents and teachers can help.
> Interviewer 2: What should the parents do?
> Respondent: They should tell the child to go to school.
> Interviewer 2: What about the teachers, what should they do?
> Respondent: They should argue the parents to bring their child." (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 95-100).

This is crucial with regard to the importance of this position especially regarding the importance of education and the role of traditional and cultural values in this regard.

2.2.4   Girls' drop out

Girls are mainly affected by early marriages and early pregnancies. This is reinforced by traditional customs, foremost the initiation ceremony (see initiation ceremony). Additional challenges cause girls' to drop out in particular that cannot be directly related to initiation ceremonies but may be explained by the traditional cultural roles of girls in the community. Financial aspects motivate parents to enforce

they children to drop school and get married (Girls/MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 273-286, 328-329). The participants refer to additional challenges the girls are faced with, like harassment, love proposals, sexual intercourse with fellow students, unfamiliar men and even teachers. These challenges are expressed especially by the girls, the young mother support group, the mother support group and the PTA.

Students: Girls

Girls are very much affected by proposals of a sexual nature that they receive from fellow students or teachers. Relationships with teachers are known about by the head teacher but not directly addressed. Moreover marriages are big issues that are supported or even enforced by many parents (see below but also, 329). They also point out to bad peer group pressures that distract students (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 327).

The girls refer to 'love relationships' teachers have with girls. They state that the head teacher knows about it without reacting to it. They also express the fear to be identified with regard to the information they provide:

> *"Interviewer: Are there girls who were proposed by your teacher?*
> *Respondents: Yes, they are*
> *Interviewer: Are they in relationships with them?*
> *Respondents: Yes, they are. Most of them allow teachers. Many of them.*
> *Interviewer: Who are they?*
> *Respondents: hey are in standard eight and seven; they will beat us if we mention their names.*
> *Interviewer: Don't mention their names. Are those teachers who are just coming from the college or these who have stayed in teaching so long?*
> *Respondents: Some are these from college and some who have been teachers for some time*
> *Interviewer: Are relationships going on here at school*
> *Respondent: Yes*
> *Interviewer: Does the head teacher know?*
> *Respondent: Yes, he knows but he does nothing."*
> *(MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 150-167)*

Moreover the girls talk about other girls getting pregnant by teachers and are expected to abort the unborn child by the teacher:

> *"Interviewer: Has a teacher never impregnated a girl student?*
> *Respondent: They are give money to abort them."*
> *(MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 150-167)*

Moreover girls describe that they also receive love proposals by fellow students. If they refuse they are physically threaten either to be beaten or even sexually assaulted by male students:

> *"Interviewer: What about at home, what challenges do you face that affect your education?*
> *Respondent: When we turn down boys relation proposals we get beaten even get sexually assaulted.*
> *Respondent: Boys beat us*
> *Interviewer: So you have been beaten by boys?*
> *Respondent: Yes several times"*
> *(MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 273-286)*

Furthermore early marriages are a big issue and in the context of this wider school community girls emphasise that parents often support early marriages without listening to the opinion of the girl (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 279-286).

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Parents: PTA

The PTA provides additional information by emphasizing that the distance to school is also very unsecure for girls. Most of all they are in danger to be sexually assaulted by their male fellow students and by unfamiliar men they meet accidentally on the way:

> *"They face many problems which may hinder them in education, that it why we want to have a program of patrolling, for example if we have a group proving security to the children they will also be able to patrol those children walking in long distances, check what problems do they face in their way. As this a rainy season, children are threatened on their way and they cannot go school, they have n where to complain because it can take time to get help from the chiefs. But if we have such a group, it will be able to identify where children are threatened so chiefs will be forced to search who is threatening the children. As for now, there is no security for children" (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_ LC_11.06.2014, 52).*

Parents: Father Group

The father group explains that they regard arranged marriages as not customary in this area. That means that girls always decide on their own to get married but sometimes without the knowledge of their father but of her mother (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 100, 117-122).

2.2.4.1 Specific measures

With regard to specific measure the strategy of sensitization is mentioned. In this regard most of the participants refer to the activities of the young/mother and father support groups (Professionals, Parents, Support groups themselves). Most of them are contributing to this strategy themselves. Moreover the need for patrolling and controlling is especially emphasized by the teachers.

Professionals: Head teacher

The head teacher refers to the strategy of readmission (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014), but also sensitization that is done by the mother and father support group. He also contacts guardians to make appointments to speak about the child dropping out of school. This strategy refers mainly to the need to understand parents and children's situation (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 36).

Professionals: Teachers

Teachers refer to specific measures that support the access to school for various groups, namely girls, boys, street kids/working children, orphans, children of child-headed families. One gender-related strategy is the readmission for girls (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 109-116). Strategies of sensitization but also controlling children's access to school as well as strategies of sensitization that address parents and community who currently value other life aspirations for their children and/or do not value formal education that much are discussed. This is especially challenging for girls but also for boys. For boys this is crucial because parent enforce them to work and earn money rather than to go to school.

Another strategy mentioned is the understanding of the particular personal situation the student struggles with as well as the need to be sensitive in the long run in terms of following up personal contexts:

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> *"Maybe just to add on that point, like on my side I do follow ups, when a child has told me a problem, I follow the child up if he or she is reporting for classes, and if s/he has a problem in class, I take part in helping him/her." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 290).*

Parents: *PTA*

PTA confirms that drop out is a big challenge especially regarding girls. They say that they are trained to speak to the parents, to visit them and convince them to send their children to school (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 24-28). One member underlines the importance of punishment/sanctions to ensure that children come to school (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 36, see concept of inclusive education and recommendation). Another issue mentioned by this group is the responsibility of the chief to stress the importance of education and the already mentioned patrolling program (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 40).

Parents: Mother Support group

The mother support group prepares porridge some days a week. Because the school has a farm (as the school health coordinator explains) they can grow maize and sell their products to earn money that they invest in supporting the students (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014, 38, 45, 51, 54-57).

They mainly focus is on girls' education. They mainly speak with girls but also to the parents and the community to sensitize them and to promote the importance of education (MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014).

Parents: Father group

They report that they cooperate intensively with the mother group to breed fish and grow maize to sell it on the market to earn money for the learners and the school. Additionally they feel responsible for encouraging children to come to school or picking them up when they are distracted on the way to school (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 35). They also report that the mother, young mother and father groups all share the same position in that they emphasize the importance of education and want to support the school because of their conviction:

> *"There is also a young mothers' support group which means there are some girls who could not continue with education and they also have interest in helping learners." (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 52).*

One of the fathers also explains that they support children with delivering vocational skills for all grade one day a week (There is also a young mothers' support group which means there are some girls who could not continue with education and they also have interest in helping learners, 56).

2.3   Acceptance

2.3.1   Attitude of students/discrimination by fellow students

With regard to the various perspectives different aspects occur regarding the dimension of acceptance. Whereas all participants see similar problems that cause lacking acceptance in the school differences occur with regard to the description of the current situation. The professionals, teachers and head teacher emphasize that they promote acceptance of all students based on their concept of inclusive

education (see also concept of inclusive education) (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 98, 102[1]). While the head teacher states that he promotes this value among teachers (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_ LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 22) the teachers state they are also told by policy to do so (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 280). This is confirmed by the chief who expresses that he doesn't know about isolation issues at this school and even doubts that these exist (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 102, 114). From the parents' perspectives acceptance is still a challenges and that there are teachers who do not accept all learners

Students: Girls

Girls speak of a lack of acceptance, e.g. in case of orphans who are not accepted because of their clothing and low academic achievements (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 185-200, 205/6). They additionally refer to lack of acceptance of girls who have relationship with boys as well as girls that aborted an unborn baby (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 213-216). Furthermore they talk about insulting girls with HIV/AIDS that still have relationships with boys/men (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 226-230).

Students: SNE Learners

This group also refers to a general lack of acceptance and one student describes that he is frequently physically attacked by another student (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 158-163).

Parents: PTA

The PTA points out that 'disabled' children and orphans are still faced with lacking acceptance due to their different appearance or behaviour:

> *"R2: The most students who are being discriminated are the orphans due their dressing, and the way they look, and also these who are discriminated. Even their appearance. They do not want to walk with her.*
> *R3: The disabled. For example those with hearing impairment and stammering when a teacher ask a question or the disabled learner want to ask a question, they are laughed by their friends. So for them to come to school the next day he feel discouraged. So their rights are denied."*
> *(MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 60/1).*

However, this is true especially with regard to fellow learners but it also seems to be a challenge with regard to attitudes of teachers. This aspect touches on the dimension of participation as a result for the students:

> *"R2: I also want to agree with that, I have my grandchild who has a hearing impairment at the school. Sometimes I find her outside class when her friends are class learning. Whenever I ask her, she says that because of ill treatment by fellow learners and teachers. Sometimes teachers do not pay attention to them.*
> *R4: Even in class when there are two hearing impaired learners, teachers concentrate on teaching the other normal learners. The disabled are not well taken care of."*
> *(MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 65/6).*

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[1] The head teacher is not mentioned in the detailed description again since this is the only comment on this issue from his perspective. The relevant quote refers also to the concept of inclusive education and is presented and discussed in this context.

Interestingly in this regard one member discusses special schools as one way to protect learners with disabilities from harm by their environment.

> *"R4: There is need for government to build a Special School for the learners with disabilities in [name of district] because there are many children with learning difficulties. I have a deaf child who come here at the school. She just follows her friends but there is nothing happening because they have a special teacher for their needs." (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 65/6).*

As the dimension of access is predominant when it comes to inclusive education they seem to exist very different and contrasting opinions on how to include all children. Nevertheless, this aspect is rarely discussed explicitly.

Professionals: Teachers

The teachers say that they are expected to treat all students equally. As a consequence they describe that there are only few challenges left with regard to acceptance by fellow students (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 330). A situation mentioned with regard to a 'disabled' student is describes as a problem of the past:

> *"[...] but last year we had an issue because a child had hearing impairment, one could teach, ask questions to learners, he could understand the question but because he did not understand the content, he could answer totally different things from what is taught so friends were laughing at him but we made it possible that the behaviour stopped" (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 330).*

2.3.2 Specific measures

Parents: PTA

The PTA stresses that there are issues of isolation and failing acceptance among students. This affects especially orphans because of their clothes (60). Several members of PTA stress that 'disabled' students like "those with hearing impairment and stammering" (61) are affected by isolation by their peers (61, 65) as well as by teachers. In the final phase of the discussion they state that teachers act properly to include 'disabled' students and that they also have no problem regarding the participation of these students (72-77).

> *"R2: I also want to agree with that, I have my grandchild who has a hearing impairment at the school. Sometimes I find her outside class when her friends are class learning. Whenever I ask her, she says that because of ill treatment by fellow learners and teachers. Sometimes teachers do not pay attention to them.*
> *R4: Even in class when there are two hearing impaired learners, teachers concentrate on teaching the other normal learners. The disabled are not well taken care of." (65/6)*

As a consequence one member recommends the building of a special school (62, see also concept of inclusive education).

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2.4 Participation

2.4.1 Lacking resources

Students: SNE learners

One of the SNE learners explained that they sometimes don't eat until school is over. This points out to a challenge that also teachers refer to that is linked to participation. Hunger causes concentration problems (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 324).

Mother and father group

As mentioned earlier both groups earn money by selling maize and fish they breed in a fishpond and on the land that belongs to the school. With it they directly can support the school and support individual students who need material resources (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 35).

2.4.2 Attitudes

Students: Girls

Girls explain that they are sometimes threatened by boys MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 135, 136). One girl explains that they are threatened for example in case the girls achieve better in class (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 147). Girls tell that they are affected by love proposals by boys (outside the class) (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 145). In general they describe that they are laughed at by older children but also laugh and mock, e.g. other girls that already are married or have been pregnant (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 138, 140). They also refer to relationships of teachers to school girls (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 153-163). They add that the head teacher also knows about it but doesn't intervene. Additionally they refer to cases in which the girl is pays to abort the unborn baby (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 164-169).

Students: SNE Learners

One of the learners describes that he/she feels isolated by others but at the same time he/she feels insecure in company of others. He/she believes that they regard him/her as less intelligent:

> *"Interviewer 1: Why? What do they say is the reason they do not like you?*
> *Respondent : They say sometimes when I am in class I am always quiet, I do not participate in what others do like making noise and even when we are at break I do my own things so they do not want to play with me. They only play with others who are not quiet because they feel I am not intelligent.*
> *Interviewer 1: Do you think maybe they do not like you because of your disability?*
> *Respondent: Yes, the disability of being quiet."* (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 290-293).

Obviously he/she doesn't relate this – being regarded as less intelligent by others – not as his/her disability. Instead he states that he regards his/her behaviour of being quite as a disability; maybe because he/she feels that limitations that are connected to it.

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2.4.3   Specific groups: boys

A teacher pointed out he/she is forced to punish students when they show inacceptable behaviour, this becomes a problem when children, especially boys reach puberty (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 106), this means that students miss big parts of the lessons (see interrelation). Teachers point out to the negative consequence of negative relationship with students. As mentioned already students' behaviour is impacted by initiation ceremonies and affects the relationship of students and teachers in a negative way. The head teacher refers to the rules that claim that students' misbehaviour is accepted now and punishment unjustified forbidden (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 73-76, 80, see discussion concept of inclusive education).

2.4.4   Family background and student characteristics

Parents: Father group

The father group also stresses the fact that the family background and the importance of education are linked closely. One of the fathers points to a vicious circle in this regard. If parents did not receive education themselves they are not able to encourage their children enough. They discuss this also especially regarding girls' lacking educational success (see also access, initiation ceremony).

They link the predominant problem they see, poverty and lacking education (and lacking importance of education) to the specific rural area they live in:

> *"In this area as others have already said, it is because of poverty and if we find educated parents in the villages, most of them were once taken by their relatives to town and got educated there. There are very few who are finishing education because some are carried away by what their friends do, some are rude to parents, some are drunkards and trouble makers at home." (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 76)*

One parent summarizes this vicious circle again pointing out to all the various aspects contributing to it: young age of children attending initiation ceremonies, lack of education of parents, interrelated with poverty and the priority parents give to earning money. He also refers to the support children need to access school and participate well, which begins with dressing them, giving them breakfast and encourage them:

"My other colleague also said about "kuchotsa fumbi" and initiating young children who do not even understand what is being said, do you think such young children can really sleep with men. If you come during initiation ceremonies, you will see that these young girls do not even know about such things and cannot even think about them but we just need to encourage the parents to tell the children to go to school, they should make sure the children take a bath, give them breakfast and with time they get used to school life. When parents are not educated, they send the children to sell things at the market, and other household chores like drawing water, going to the maize mill and in the end the children are absent from school." (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 80, this is strongly linked and also discuss with regard to initiation ceremonies; because it refers to education in a broader sense it is discussed here).

Professionals: Teachers

Reinforcing the importance of the attitude of parents and cultural values emphasized in the community the teachers additionally point out the importance of the family background for students' performance

(MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 358, 367, 377). The teachers state that this can be a support for the child. The explanation touches on the importance of role models again:

> *"Other children who do well in class are those that have positive family history in education; an educated brother, sister or parents. So it is like they are following the footsteps. While those who don't do well it shows that even their family is not educated." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 357).*

Lacking support of the family moreover can affect the child in a negative sense even when the child still comes to school. So this aspect goes beyond access, and focuses on motivation and participation:

> *"These other ones it is because of the influence of adolescence, so if at home their parents do not guide them, they can be disturbed, yes they can be coming to school but because something is wrong in their life, performance goes down." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 367)*

In conclusion teachers discuss motivational aspects (students' characteristics) resulting from the support and the encouragement they receive. Whereas the support and the positive attitude of parents previously were discussed in terms of access here it shows that this implies much more for the students' educational success.

With regard to the importance of students' characteristics they also discuss issues that touch on the students' resilience in terms of motivation despite lacking support (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 153-162, 361, 379):

> *"Yes, in standard four there is [name of a student], it happens that he comes to school, he also has a hearing problem. He comes to school but in the afternoon he sells water at [name of place]. Sometimes he sells water, sometimes doughnuts, but he comes to school." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 154).*

In this case the teacher refers to one student with a hearing impairment who is outstanding in terms of his motivation. This again seems to reinforce a positive circle. In this single case teachers give him extra support. There seems to be a positive relationship between teachers' awareness, students activity and teachers willingness to support these children. However it needs to be noted that even if one assumes that teachers are well trained to recognize which students really needs extra support this strategy can only help individual students and cannot address all students' needs.

Professionals: Head teacher

The head teacher regards parents and guardians in general not only as responsible in terms of discouraging students to participate but also to be an important aspect in terms of encouragement which affects participation a great deal (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 51-54, 103-106). The head teacher regards parents as important role models for children. This he underlines by referring to cases in which parents role modelling was important for children after their parents have died:

> *"It is the students that have both parents and they have interest in their children education. There are also some students whose parents died but they did well in their education, they even do well." (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 103)*

Additionally he refers to students from child-headed families that are less motivated than their counterparts. The teachers also referred to one specific child who is very motivated despite being faced with very difficult living conditions (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 51-54).

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Chief/group village headman

The chief interestingly sees no correlation between the families' characteristics and the students' achievement. He very much emphasizes the importance of students' characteristics alone and motivational aspects to be successful. Furthermore environmental conditions are not mentioned.

> *"Interviewer 1: At the end of each term on the closing day as a chief you are called to witness which children have passed and which ones have failed. When you go there which group of children comes to the top?*
> *Respondent: Only those who worked hard get to the top.*
> *Interviewer 1: What kind of families do they come from?*
> *Respondent: Any family. Only if they worked hard they make it to the top.*
> *Interviewer 1: What about those who do not do well, which group are they? What are their families like?*
> *Respondent: That only means they were not working in school that is why they fail. It does not matter whether they are children of respected members of the community." (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 105-110)*

This stands in contrast to the teachers and head teachers' point of view and seems to be more a subjective theory or belief rather than a result from experience. It also touches on the relationship of culturally shared attitudes and values and subjective values (that also may result from critical incidents like in the case of the head teacher). Compared to the chief teachers refer to specific cases. The head teacher apparently refers to his experience from working with families as he contacts them and speaks with them on various occasions, e.g. in cases of children's school start as well as children's drop out.

2.4.5 Pedagogics

Students: Girls

Girls explain that they like the teachers' way of teaching and also the mild forms of punishment which seem to be preferred by the teachers. They also supports the support of teachers regarding the extra-time teachers spend to help single students that have problems in understanding the content of the subject (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 237-239). They also refer to gestures teachers use to give instructions for children with hearing impairments (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 240-243)

On the other hand the girls describe that teachers still use some unacceptable punishment strategies (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 245-255). They also describe that corporal forms are still in use.

Another aspect mentioned is that the impact that lack of acceptance of some students has on these children's participation in class (MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014, 256-261).

Students: SNE Learners

SNE Learners refer positively to the teachers' way to teach them. They emphasize that they do not feel afraid if they have a question. They also say that the teachers explain so that they can understand. They also explain that the teacher repeats information (everyone refers to his or her respective teacher) (MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09.06.2014, 340, 342, 371).

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Professionals: Teachers

The greatest challenge, teachers mention is this of 'bad student behaviour'. They explain this behaviour in great parts by referring to traditions and initiation ceremonies that affects boys especially when they reach puberty. They also claim that parents encourage them to behave in this way. So asked for recommendations they see also a need to sensitize parents to support the teachers' role (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 167-178, 214-216, 364-367, 455-458). Teachers' in this respect seem to have an uncritical view on punishment but not without limitations. Although they say that they have established a great deal of new forms of punishment, they admit that in situations under pressure they sometimes also use corporal forms of punishment. Obviously like the head teacher they also acknowledge that corporal punishment is forbidden at the school. The teacher in the following quote sees a need to explain himself with regard to the 'accidental use' of corporal forms of punishment:

> *"Interviewer 2: Sir has talked that 'not most of the times' which means sometimes it happens. Respondent: Yah! because the issue is that a punishment may be given there because it is a associated with temper, sometimes it can happen suddenly and mostly you regret afterwards, a thing which can even destroys your relationship with that child and thereby negatively affecting the learning process." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 241-250):*

They also discuss criteria how to choose (new forms of) disciplinary strategies like changing the strategy when the student gets used to it as well as limitations like missing subject matters if the punishment strategy is to stay outside the classroom. Nevertheless it becomes apparent that teachers 'choose' the forms of punishment not in a symbolic manner but to demonstrate their own power and the limitation of power and control by the student (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 251-253).

It needs to be pointed out that teachers do not discuss other strategies in dealing with behavioural issues in the classroom but focuses on how to punish students (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 241-250, 257-258).

Furthermore teachers show a high awareness of student's situation and problems. This becomes apparent when the teachers talk about their students in great detail. They know very well about single students. That is striking with regard to the big classes. At the school 70 children on average are attending one class (school data sheet). Strategies that become apparent in this regard are speaking with students and do follow-ups (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 147-150, 153-162, 381).

Statements hardly refer to strategies and teaching methods in the classroom, however, I one teacher describes that he invests extra-time to teach students after class:

> *"Like the one we are saying in standard four, and maybe in class there are a lot of children, and when the teacher is teaching there is a time limit. That's why I found a chance of telling him that when she knocks off him should be coming to my class, during that time we stay close and also I teach slowly and give him a chance to explain what he can manage on what I have taught. So where he has failed I repeat several times, this cannot happen in him class, because it is difficult for a teacher to be repeating a point for several times to one child so I take such kind of children. Even in my class there are some who have difficulties with reading, some are slow learners. When they knock off at 11:20 am, I try to be with them for at least thirty minutes, helping them in areas of weakness at ease, without considering time that is prescribed by the government. In this way some of them are showing an improvement." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 294)*

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Furthermore teachers speak about doing group work (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 329, see also confirmation by observations) and is referred to as "learner centred methods" (296). Moreover they point out that they are using gestures in the classroom to address children with hearing impairments (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 292).

The teachers also consider mixing seating plans (this is confirmed by the head teacher, see below). One teacher describes that he used seating arrangements to target the acceptance of one particular student by his fellow students:

> "In my class there is a child has just started, fellow children are saying that, of course I have no evidence, they are saying he has been to several schools and was chased, I don't know if he was chased by the administration or he run away because he was being laughed at by friends. It needs follow up, but the issue they are saying is that the child practises Satanism. So the child is in my class and what is happening is that friends are isolating him, just recently we changed groups of learners and mixed them up and formulated new groups but it was found that the one we put with him on the desk was reluctant so I was wondering what was happening and what could be the reason, so it took me time to realise that that was the reason because everybody was refusing to sit with him in fear of being affected (someone laughs)." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 332)

Though it obviously did not work out he points out that the awareness of using methods to address the behaviour of students in terms of acceptance is important. Another teacher expresses awareness of the importance of his own behaviour with regard to acceptance of all in his classroom. He speaks about giving positive reinforcements to encourage (in this case 'disabled') students and to make other students stop laughing (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 373).

However they also describe the need for SNE material and SNE expertise. At this school is no SNE teacher (see challenges and recommendations).

Professionals: Head teacher

Mixed sitting plans are also mentioned by the head teacher. He draws on the positive consequences that resulted from it and that it supports participation in general and girls' participation in particular:

> "When I observe my fellow teachers teaching the participation of learners is impressive. We use mixed sitting plan. Students are able to share knowledge. Girls gain confidence and feel that they have the potential   to   perform   as   their   counterparts   do." (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 118)

Certain student characteristics by contrast he seems to regard as static. It seems that this aspect is regarded as something unchangeable by intervention and certain pedagogies. (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 119-124).

Observations

The observation confirms this strategy as group work is mentioned as a strategy used.

Parents: PTA

There are contradictions in the statements of PTA members. On the one hand they see that teachers sometimes ignore 'disabled' students but on the other hand they state that these students participate properly because of teachers' awareness (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 65/6, 72-77).

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2.5   Most disadvantaged groups

Professionals: (Regular) teachers

The teachers refer to various groups they consider as disadvantaged, namely (working) boys (also girls but they emphasize the problem of working boys), girls (early marriage and pregnancies due to tradition), 'disabled' children (see education of SNE learners) as well as orphans and child-headed families.

The group of girls are discussed as one of the most disadvantaged groups due to traditional ceremonies that cause early marriages and pregnancies (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 224). One teacher discusses the relation of time of obligatory schooling and (recommended) age of marriage with regard to the time most girls attend school. Teachers discuss policies as well as concerns and possible contradictions in this regard (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 460- 466).

With regard to obstacles like sexual assaults by teachers the teachers themselves confirm that this is a general concern. However, they state that this is not the case at this specific school (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 203-207).

The teachers however also point out to problems that boys are affected by. Compared to girls boys are more likely enforced to work. This is a problem especially in this area:

> *"But this problem is big here especially for boys where they stop going to school and going for piece works such as carrying people's things at [name of place]. They can also go for the bicycle business of transporting people. But I feel the government should intervene, for there are some places, such as those in the northern region where every child is brought to school with the assistance of the police. Sometimes when a child is sent to the market during school time, that parent is brought to court. So if this can be practiced here too, many children would be educated." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 167-178).*

Teachers see this problem as caused by parents' aspirations. This again refers to the role of education and the contradiction with traditional values and orientations:

> *"But that problem mainly comes from parents because they do that when they see that their child has grown up and they let him do that to help them source money for food at home. They feel that when that child goes to school, he will be delayed hence the child is discouraged." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 175)*

With regard to 'disabled' children the main problems are described as being hunger, lacking materials like clothes. They discuss discrimination like isolation and lacking acceptance by their fellow students (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 90).

Professionals: Head teacher

The head teacher refers to positive developments that affect girls' education in general and their participation in class in particular. On the one hand he regards this group as one of the most disadvantaged groups. He also points out to strategies how to prevent drop outs, e.g. with role models or how to react after it by strategies like readmission (see specific measures). On the other hand it is the growing importance of 'civic education' that improved the situation concerning education for girls in particular. In the following statement he refers to the change of mind-sets with regard to the meaning of education for girls:

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> *"Interviewer: Between male and female students which group is more disadvantaged than the other in education?*
> *Respondent: It is the girls; there was this culture when a girl child is impregnated and has a child she cannot continue with her education. Thanks to civic education, most of the parents now understand they have changed their old mentality. But it is again a disadvantage because once a girl child is impregnated she stays at home for a period of time unlike boys." (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 41/2).*

Like mentioned above he refers to the improvement of girls' education also in terms of participation:

> *"When I observe my fellow teachers teaching the participation of learners is impressive. We use mixed sitting plan. Students are able to share knowledge. Girls gain confidence and feel that they have the potential to perform as their counterparts do." (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 118, see also 126).*

He also discusses children's drop out of school due to the parent's harsh treatment and the necessity for children to earn money to support the family. This issue is linked to the topic of poverty but also at the same time refers to the cultural and traditional views of the role of education in the community and the society as a whole.

Chief/group village headman

Also the group village headman refers to initiation ceremonies as a problem that affects especially girls' education. Additionally he mentions that the recommended age of girls is 18 years and above but he also describes that many girls that get married are of an earlier age, around 12 and 13 years of age and also get pregnant around that age (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 64-68).

However, the chief explains that he sees only limited responsibility to look after those children that drop out of school after attending initiation ceremonies, e.g. in terms of monitoring children's attendance to school:

> *"Interviewer 1: As a chief don't you question why a particular child is not going to school?*
> *Respondent: No I do not." (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 37/8)*

Instead he refers to teachers and parent's responsibility. As already mentioned with regard to the impact of cultural values this attitude is crucial. The position of the group village headman is part of ancient traditional structures of governments, especially for people of this community who rely heavily on his judgment. He represents orientation – not at least in these times of change. The following statement in which he points out to the responsibility of parents has to be considered very critical in this respect:

> *"Interviewer 1: What about when the children have come back from the initiation ceremony, it is hard for the children to go on with school they drop out. How can we solve this problem?*
> *Respondent: Here only parents and teachers can help.*
> *Interviewer 2: What should the parents do?*
> *Respondent: They should tell the child to go to school.*
> *Interviewer 2: What about the teachers, what should they do?*
> *Respondent: They should argue the parents to bring their child." (MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014, 95-100)*

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Parents: PTA

They discuss challenges girls, orphans and 'disabled' children face with regard to access, acceptance and participation.

With regard to these different groups they repeatedly refer to the importance of the role of the chief. However, they also claim that the efforts that have been made so far are still not enough. On the one hand they lack learning materials and financial resources to go to school as well as the encouragement of their parents. Even if they live with their relatives they often do not care about their education (40-42). In terms of acceptance and participation members of the PTA describe problems of discrimination and isolation that affects orphans because of their clothing (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 60, 70): *For the orphans since they are not disabled, we need the head teacher to have data of the school as to how many we have and is it double or single orphanhood. Also the head teacher with teachers should advocate for learners not to stigmatize orphans and discriminate them because they give them different sorts of names. For the disabled learners, they need a Specialist teacher to attend to their needs. We had a deaf person but was able to write even a letter. This will be helpful."* (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 70)

Education of SNE learners

Very different aspects are mentioned concerning the education of 'disabled learners'[2]. The PTA emphasises the crucial role of the community regarding the value of education for SNE learners and places less emphasis on role of the parents (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 25, 44). The teachers additionally point out other aspects like challenges with regard to the transition to primary school especially for this group. Moreover they point out the importance of role models for these children. The importance of sensitization with regard to the importance of education for disadvantaged children in general but for these children in particular is emphasised.

Parents: PTA

The PTA refers to the predominant attitudes of the community and parents still have regarding the value of education for 'disabled' children:

> *"The disabled are just staying in the village. So we need chief to initiate rules that every parent who does not send a child to school be punished." (44).*

They also mention the challenge of lacking acceptance for these children in the school. They regard they role as doing sensitization regarding the importance of education for all disadvantaged groups, including 'disabled' children:

> *"There are some children who are poor or disabled but their parents refuse to send them to school, since we get training on that we go to the parents to encourage them not to isolate these children." (25)*

Moreover as becomes apparent in the previous quote they see it as a great responsibility of the chief to address this issue that is based on the predominance of traditional aspects.

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[2] The term disability or disabled predominates in the data. So it is the term used here in quotes to refer to accordingly.

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Parents: Father group

They refer to another important aspect, namely the difficulty of knowing if the (own) child has a learning disability or not. This points out to the importance of screening and diagnostics (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 104).

They moreover refer to very practical aspects like that a child in a wheelchair at this school is interested in education but has to rely on another child to bring him/her to school. If this child cannot do this for various reasons and they is no one else available that would probably lead to the child's drop out (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 114).

Professionals: (Regular) teachers

Due to new Malawian 'policies' teachers say they treat all children equally. Nevertheless in the following quote this seems not result from an internal conviction. However, here the respondent refers to the dimension of acceptance, namely the attitudes of the teachers:

> *"Policies, we are told that every child, when we have children in classes, we should we should treat them equally including those who are disabled, for example maybe one has difficulties with hearing we should not remind them of their not hearing and we treat them equally. If we have children with hearing or sight problems we don't tell them that we are doing that because of their problem, we tell them politely that they should not see themselves as different from others and that fellow learners should also not find a chance to discriminate against them." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 280).*

The respondent's discussion of these policies seems to remain on a superficial level though, because he tells that he speaks 'politely' to these students and it also remains unclear which policy papers he is referring to.

Despite predominant challenges like lacking resources and barriers in the classroom and attitude of teachers (see above) the teachers refer to another interesting aspect that points to the importance of transition to primary school. Teachers describe problems of adjustment for 'disabled' children because their parents protect them and hold them back from school. So when they start school they have no experiences concerning the structure and schedule at institutions in general. Moreover they tend to be older than their fellow students when they start with in standard one. Negative consequences include the fact that they feel insecure and possibly ashamed among their classmates:

> *"On the same issue of impaired children it happens that the community keep them in homes up to a certain age that even school cannot be possible, when maybe parents are feeling that they are giving them problems it is when they send them to school, so for these children to start standard one, and amongst friends who are young it becomes a problem, and with their disabilities they fail to adapt to school environment since they are used to certain life at home, sometimes they fail to learn well because maybe of shame, so they end up dropping out, I feel that these children are not well prepared in the communities for school like the other children who are normal." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 72).*

In terms of the role of education the teacher's position is interesting. In contrast to statements that points out that many parents still see less value of education for 'disabled' children these teachers refer to another interesting aspect, namely the one of lacking role models for those children:

> *"The other thing I see in this area is that for the disabled learners here, they don't have role models who are in good jobs to inspire them. So they lose hope, they feel everybody of their nature cannot be educated." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 70).*

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Professionals: Head teacher

As mentioned earlier the head teacher referred to a critical incident that made him change his mind-set regarding 'disabled' people. As a consequence he sees a need to start with the mind set of people, also with regard of the importance of education for "disabled" (26) students. Accordingly he also puts an emphasis on sensitization in his work.

2.6   Transition

2.6.1   Transition to primary school

Professionals: (regular) Teachers

One teacher emphasized the child-friendliness of the school and regards this as important due to the fact that most children did not visit a preschool before and have problems of adjusting to this new context. The teacher specifically refers to making the child feel comfortable in his new environment since the preschool is in most cases no option.

> *"Here it seems like it's not a problem, children are accepted fully, and it is a wish of the management that if possible this school should be a child friendly school, so that a child should feel good, should be offered the same environment as that of home, most of the times in many schools when a child has just come, let's say those starting standard one, they feel it is very difficult if they compare with where they are coming from but there is initiative that everybody should be accepted and be given equal treatment to boost education." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 326)*

Another statement refers to the challenge of the transition to school with respect to 'disabled' children. As pointed out above in more detail teachers describe adjustment problems especially for these children. Whereas other perspectives point out that parents of 'disabled' children see less value of education for these children (like PTA, see education for SNE learners), the teachers refer to the motive of protection. Due to protecting 'disabled' children and keeping them to long at home before they start school they often face problems in adjusting to this institutional environment as well as problems that result from interacting with their younger counterparts. So it seems also a problem of age heterogeneity. This first of all points out to the importance to develop the access to early childhood institutions as well as to enforce the public to take the obligatory entrance age seriously.

Professionals: Head teacher

The head teacher describes that one of his main tasks is to contact parents of children at the age of 6 (school age). In this regard he also describes that this school has the philosophy to welcome children that start school. There is a similarity with teachers view:

"My main duty is to run the school, to consider how the government wants us to run the school, then l communicate with parents what the government wants for example children are supposed to start school at the age of 6, to make sure that teachers are well planned for classes and students are welcome despite they are coming from a rich family or not, they should be treated equally and they should fill welcome because we are employed for them." (20)

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Father group

They refer to the establishment of "small groups" that are for younger children and regarded as preparing the children for primary school and are also seen as developing motivation and interest in joining primary school (Mgwalangwa, Namboma, Kwaliwo, and Naunkho, 90):

> *"Respondent: In addition to that, some small schools have also been established where the children are going and when they like it, they are encouraged to join the primary school. Interviewer: OK, what kind of small schools are these? Respondent: Those for kindergarten children to let children know how to read." (86-88)*

2.6.2   Transition to secondary school

Professionals: (Regular) teachers

Compared with other schools in the zone girls' education is successful measured against girls that are selected to go to secondary school (School data sheet, 2). Teachers discuss the problem of feeder school and non-feeder schools as well as the problem that the children's achievement is not decisive in being selected for secondary school (FGD teacher, 470-484).

They also discuss the critical role of standard 8 and form 4.

Moreover they point out that the sparse educational infrastructure in the area, no CDSS of reference (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 199) has a negative impact on children's motivation:

> *"Also, sometimes, as it is already said about the distance to school, for instance, I see like, in this area there is no community day secondary school where could use as a point of reference to encourage the learners. All the people here including those from the TTC are, all head to [name of place]. So had it been the college is close here, sometimes one would have been thinking that we can do better as the college is within, or else, let's say a CDSS, one would have been thinking that from this place, I will be there in form one or form two but to go to [name of place] there is a distance where girls and boys should walk so they cannot see the school, so I feel that there is no interest for them to go up to [name of place] Community, this also affects them." (MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014, 199)*

Professionals: Head teacher

As a positive development the head teacher emphasizes the increase of students that perform well. However, he speaks about these students that "could" be selected to go to secondary school (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 150) – it is obviously not all about students' performance:

> *"In the past we had five students in standard eight plus my child making it six students but students` number eventually increased to thirty. We could have twenty-nine students out of thirty being selected to secondary schools." (MW_AL_HEAD TEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014, 150)*

2.7   Success factors of and barriers to inclusive educational systems

2.7.1   Opportunities

Although children, parents and professionals face some serious challenges there are some opportunities that have to be emphasized. On the one hand parents and teachers show initiatives in reaction to the problems they face. On the other hand it shows that some NGO activities take place.

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First of all, all perspectives refer to the importance of sensitization of the community with regard to the value of education and nearly everyone states that he/she feels responsible for it (e.g. head teacher, 107/8, PTA 25-8, mothers and father group/summarized by father group, 25). The PTA for instance also states that they are trained on this concern by a NGO.

Furthermore all professionals evidence of ownership and initiatives. Though they are challenged by overcrowded classes, lacking time in this respect regarding support for individual students, lacking teaching and learning resources and lacking support by qualified SNE teachers they refer to some positive strategies to improve the situation. First of all they show a high awareness of their students' problems. This becomes apparent with regard to the great detail they present when they explain problems they face by referring to some students. They also show engagement by doing follow ups on certain problems of students they have spoken about. Another important aspect that has to be mentioned is the willingness the teachers express with regard to spend extra-time, e.g. during the break, to support children that did not understand the work done in the classroom.

Teachers speak about doing group work and mixing seating plans. This latter aspect is also emphasized by the head teacher. The teachers also explain that they use gestures to make it easy for students with hearing impairment to follow the lesson. As a result the SNE learners, mainly those with hearing impairment accordingly expressed their satisfaction with the teachers. It clearly illustrates teachers' awareness with regard to the importance of methods for the atmosphere among the teachers.

The parents also show initiative and ownership. All groups, mother, young mother and father groups, highlight the importance of education and say that they see their main task as sensitizing the community with regard to the importance of education. They also describe going around the villages, talk to parents and bring children to school. Furthermore they explain the importance to provide food (porridge, mother group) and to earn money to support the school and the children financially. Both mother groups show that they feel responsible especially for the girls. They speak with the girls about the importance of education and try to prevent them from early pregnancies and marriages. They present "negative cases" to them to convince them. Most of the mothers in the young mother group regard themselves critically as the ones who failed and are motivated to make a difference for the other girls in the school.

Furthermore all perspectives refer to NGO's that provides certain support for children, most of all FEDOMA and CAMFED. They provide financial support for the school uniforms that allows the children to attend school (perspectives differ with regard to whether or not the children are sent back home if children have a uniform but do not wear it). CAMFED furthermore supports bursaries for girls that are able to attend but cannot afford the fees for secondary education.

Girls are regarded as the most challenged group due to the predominance of traditional life aspirations and the importance of initiation ceremonies but also other reasons that challenge girls' attendance. Nevertheless most of the participants note also a very positive development on this concern. The head teacher explains this by pointing out that the amount of interventions that especially addressed girls' education has increased. As a consequence teachers even point out the need not to forget other groups like the boys for instance. However, the head teacher points to the fact that girls' attendance rate in all classes is even higher compare to their male fellow students and they also now have a high rate of girls that go to secondary school.

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2.7.2   Challenges/barriers

All perspectives emphasise the lack of financial, structural facilities and teaching and learning resources. This mainly is related to the facilities at the school like teachers' houses, lacking learning materials for students especially for SNE learners. Teachers and the head teacher as well as parents also regard the shortage of SNE teachers as especially challenging. Additional aspects are overcrowded classes (up to70 student per class), not enough classrooms – some classes have their lessons outside – , and not enough toilets for all the girls (MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06.2014, 53-58).

Lack of resources and inadequate facilities affect children's access to learning opportunities. Teachers and the head teacher discuss lacking financial resources to be a problem for some of the children especially for boys and children from child-headed family who are not able to afford the school fee. Although primary education is free in public schools the school demands a fee for the further development of the school.

Furthermore most of the participants refer to the traditional view that education is not important in the community and amongst some parents. Consequently they draw on the need for more sensitization of the community though the head teacher for instance emphasizes the positive development of the girls' school attendance. Initiation ceremonies are still a challenge that affects girls' attendance negatively and there are also other reasons for the girls to drop out. Other challenges for girls are to be proposed by a boy or to get into relationships with teachers. The father group refers to a vicious circle that is also interrelated with poverty and lack of education of parents. Nevertheless, there are also other groups affected by drop out, e.g. boys are affected because parents discourage them to go to school (is linked even with participation). It also shows that students still have to afford fees. Though there are structures to support children to afford it and according to the participants most of the children have no problem since the fee seems to be very low this still is named as a challenge. This is striking especially because primary education is supposed to be free.

With regard to the importance of education it also shows that the family background and the parents' educational background in particular is considered to be very important.

Not surprisingly most of the perspectives also refer to the lack of resources, especially for SNE learners. Teachers for instance see an urgent need for support by a SNE teacher to deal with SNE learners adequately. Furthermore some point out to the long way some children have to walk to school which is especially challenging for girls (see above). Nevertheless, there are also different views on if this is a challenge or not – the head teacher does not see this as a problem since the establishment of new schools in the community (34).

The head teacher as well as the mother group complained about the lack of support by the chief. Since this is a rural area where the position of the chief is still very strong it is very important if he is supportive or not. Though he expresses that he values education he also shows lack of awareness concerning some issues, foremost the school attendance of some children.

The father group also shows that there is a conflicting cooperation between some groups at the school, namely for instance the father group and the SMC. It became apparent that the father group did not agree with the SMC regarding the question of how to deal with children that cannot pay the fee for school. It also seems to result from a conflict of generations since the participants of the SMC seem to be much younger than the father group (MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014, 142, 144).

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2.7.3   Similarities of perspectives

Various perspectives draw on girls as the most disadvantaged groups and refer to problems those children face and the professionals as well as the parents, mother as well as father groups as well as the girls themselves refer to these problems. They refer to security issues due to love proposals of a sexual nature by teachers and students as well as traditional initiation ceremonies that often lead to early marriages and early pregnancies that cause the girls' drop out.

Other challenges mentioned are linked to acceptance. Most of the perspectives describe various forms of lacking acceptance among students. Girls even make it explicit that they insult other girls when they got pregnant. Orphans are another group that is affected by lacking acceptance mostly due to lack of clothing and the like.

2.7.4   Contrast/difference of perspectives

In general perspectives emphasize different aspects. Teachers in terms of acceptance speak of overburdening learning situations that are reinforced by provoking behaviour shown mainly by boys and the need to punish students. Though they state they mainly use 'new strategies' of punishment which are not corporal this contradicts with the perspective of the students. They say corporal punishment still exists. Moreover these perspectives of teachers and students also differ with regard to relationships between students and teachers. Whereas teachers admit that such cases do exist but not at this certain school especially the girls make contradictory statements. They say that these relationships do exist and even the head teacher knows about it but does not intervene.

The perspectives of teachers and parents mainly differ with regard to the dimensions of access, acceptance and participation. Teachers speak about strategies used to enhance participation in the classroom but parents do not elaborate on specific teaching strategies but rather emphasize lack of participation of some students – mostly 'disabled' learners – due to the way they are treated by the teachers.

While most participants see the contradictions between education and tradition the fathers link this contradiction also to the families' current life challenges, foremost poverty, that lead to specific priorities of the parents regarding education. Accordingly they enhance the picture provided with regard to the disadvantage especially girls face.

With regard to the importance of traditional governmental structures especially in rural areas it is striking that the group village headman only sees his responsibility as limited in addressing issues of acceptance of formal education for various groups like girls and 'disabled' children. This also stands in contrast to the importance of sensitization as emphasised especially by the parents.

2.8   Discussion (micro-level)

First of all the lack of structural as well as technical resources is mentioned by all participants. As pointed out with regard to opportunities though the schools lack adequate resources there is still evidence of ownership by professionals and parents who participate in schools. Nevertheless, this cannot compensate for the lack of resources but soften its effects.

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With regard to educational access the data clearly point to girls' education as a main barrier. Moreover obstacles are mentioned with regard to 'disabled' learners. Though the value of formal education is challenged by some groups because of lack of acceptance of formal education in general the different groups of children are also affected in specific ways. In this respect all participants strongly point out the efforts that already have been made as well as a further need to sensitize parents and the public.

In terms acceptance and participation teachers mention various strategies to cope with overwhelmingly difficult learning situation s including the lack of adequate professional knowledge of teachers. Nevertheless they do mention ideas of arranging learning situations so that they can spend extra-time in supporting individual students. The impression of a great engagement of teachers is also supported by the detailed insights they reveal when speaking about certain students.

Some of the strategies and recommendations by teachers address the interest and motivation of the learner. This is striking because it seems that in a system with a large number of barriers the reason why it seems to work is because of the ownership of the people involved. The idea of establishing role models that addresses the child's individual interest and motivation supports this idea.

It is striking that most of the participants see a need for sensitizing parents and the community in general but the group village headman sees less responsibility in this respect. With regard to his importance especially in this rural area this has a strong effect.

Nevertheless the head teacher explains that there are other strong strategies mainly regarding girls' education. Due to the amount of NGO-interventions the issue of girls' education is addressed effectively. The head teacher states and this is confirmed by the school data sheet that e more girls attend school than boys and moreover that many girls from this school also attend a secondary school later on.

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3   Meso-level

3.1   Concept of inclusive education

District Education Manager

At first, he refers to the need that "special needs learners are co-opted into the school system" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 28, see also 32). Though he refers to SNE learners only and doesn't clarify what happens if they are 'in the schools' he differentiates that later on and also embraces a broader group of learners that are disadvantaged. With co-opting them he also refers to addressing "issues of discrimination" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.201447).

"*There are still positive developments, for instance, there are … we have so far noted that there are a number of schools that have started developing interest in the construction of ramps, there also certain schools that are incorporating special needs learners in their schools that means by and by issues of discrimination are being reduced in those particular schools.*" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 47)

The manager observes positive developments in terms of reducing "issues of discrimination" in various schools. This he links to the reduction of barriers like the construction of ramps. It appears that he does not exclusively refer to physically disabled learners or SNE learners but to a broader concept namely disadvantaged groups, including children affected by HIV or AIDS and girls (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 49, 51). He uses the expression "vulnerable children" that indicates a broader understanding of who is addressed by inclusive education (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 66). Nevertheless, it seems that he implicitly assumes a hierarchy with regard to the vulnerable groups as he solely mentions SNE learners, children affected by HIV/AIDS (which he doesn't know but assumes) and girls (see most disadvantaged groups).

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

With regard to inclusive education the DSWO and the OVC emphasize the importance of early stimulation and early learning. Furthermore the OVC emphasizes that this early learning addresses needy as well as not needy children:

> "*Interviewer: [...] But still, it seems there are so many challenges on this, which aspects of your work are related to Education for All?*
> *District Social Welfare Officer (BM): (laughs) any way, especially, starting from CBCCs that is Community Based Child Care Centres. That's for early learning and stimulation.*
> *Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator (K): So we start from at Community level. That is Community Based Child Care Centres.*
> *BM: How many Centres do we have?*
> *K: Currently we have 371 CBCCs in the whole district. So our main emphasis is to promote early learning stimulation for every child. So it doesn't matter whether the child is needy or not needy. For everyone.*" (MW_AL_EI_A_A_2.24.04.2014, 61-65)

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The OVCs statement that all children should be addressed whether they have a need for support or not emphasises education as a general human right for all children. However this statement may also be read as an expressed need for early stimulation with respect to starting primary school at the same level. So it remains unclear why they consider early learning as important for the development and implementation of inclusive education.

Education as a general human right is also stressed by another statement of the OVC. Here he/she links this to his/her own responsibilities and tasks to support this right. In this regard he/she links his/her concept of inclusive education to action. This can also be read in terms of ownership:

> "In fact we can say education is all for every child, no matter how the status of every child is. So suppose, maybe there are other children in Secondary Schools maybe they are HIV positive. So when reported, you know those issues are most of the time are confidential, there are very few people that can come open to say that am positive or my child is positive. But suppose, there is that chance of getting to know the status of that child, we provide other support like may be need for food, that is supplementary foods that is. So we organise as an office to provide that food. Whenever, there is need for may be school fees, suppose they are secondary students. The first priority is for those children because they among the vulnerable groups." (MW_AL_EI_A_A_2.24.04.2014, 56).

In the closing of his/her statement it is emphasized again that the responsibility is seen in supporting vulnerable groups.

3.2   Access

3.2.1   Drop Out

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

In terms of access the DSWO and the OVC state that the dropout rate in lower grades affect numbers in higher grades:

> "The dropout rates are very high. For example, when you go this year in standard one, you can get there are a hundred learners, in the second year in standard two, you can get may be seventy or eighty. When you go in standard three in the other year, you can find say sixty. The rate is just dropping down. So that is our main challenge because we expect when standard one are hundred learners that means when they reach standard eight they should be hundred learners." (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 101).

Around standard four and five there is an increase in drop out as a result from girls' dropping out due to initiation ceremonies, early marriage and pregnancies:

> "BM: especially in standard four and five many girls drop out. We saw this when we were conducting last year's Day of the African Child in T/A Chamba.
> K: Especially when they go to initiation ceremonies. I don't know what is going on there. But after coming out of Initiation ceremonies, they drop out of school. Some are impregnated and get into marriage and the like." (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 103/4).

3.2.2   Specific Measures

District Education Manager

The DEM mentions issues of discrimination – his explanations mainly refer to the dimensions of access and acceptance. Issues concerning access especially for SNE learners and girls are mentioned. With regard to SNE learners he discusses what it needs to bring them in the schools. He mainly refers to

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removing and reducing physical barriers. He discusses possibilities how schools can mobilize financial resources to construct ramps (DEM_MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 59). Furthermore he also refers to the need to sensitize the community for even sending these children to school. Nevertheless promoting acceptance of community and parents would lead to the increased access of those students (interrelation of access and acceptance, DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 28).

He refers to girls because they are also affected by financial problems of their parents as well as traditional values that hinder their educational access. Financial problems and traditional values seem to are connected and result in educational disadvantage for girls in particular. Financial resources enforce parents to reach a decision to send either girls or boys to school. Though he does not elaborate on this any further this may be linked to expectations of the resulting traditional value of an educational career for boys or girls (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 52-55, 61, 66; see most disadvantaged groups).

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

In terms of access the DSWO and the OVC refer mainly to girls. They describe that CAMFED support primary school girls with financial support and also take care of readmission of those girls who got pregnant and left school. They also discuss the challenges in this regard and that financial resources in some cases do not lead to success. They see the reason for this in the culturally influenced mind-set of those girls (see also most disadvantaged groups and specific measures in general).

District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

As the office is also responsible for the initiation of mother and young mother support groups they also contribute to the encouragement of children to attend school especially girls. Nevertheless, according to the coordinator's statement concerning her responsibility this group is not her main focus:

> *"As for my office, we formed Mother support and Young mother support groups to help us in encouraging children who have no interest in education or those who went back to school after staying at home to speak to their friends the goodness of school. We encourage those girls to talk to their friends so that they should be working very hard." (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 16).*

Various initiatives are mentioned, namely the TILIPO (Teachers living positively with the virus), the AIDS TOTO Club as well as the Theater of Change (which in Malawi mainly focuses on girls education as well as on the topic of sexual and reproductive health). With respect to children with HIV/AIDS they address teachers to reach these children and also get in contact with these students in order to empower and inform them. They deliver information on how to live positively with HIV/AIDS and they also sensitize these students of the value of education and to attend school and gain knowledge. (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 20, 22).

3.3   Acceptance

With regard to acceptance he refers to SNE learners and HIV/AIDS affected children in particular. Nevertheless regarding SNE learners he mainly refers to the acceptance by community and parents. With regard to HIV/AIDS affected children he emphasizes the need not only to give information to these children but also to sensitize fellow students:

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> *"In terms of the learners, we normally conduct sensitization on this….on a number of issues, on how they can be at peace with their colleagues as well as sharing whatever they have with the less privileged ones." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 61).*

3.3.1 Specific measures

District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

Interestingly the Coordinator refers not much to activities that address supporting acceptance by other learners or by the community and the society as a whole. Mainly they focus on empowering affected children and teachers as well as ensure the discretion of the meetings. Nevertheless with encouraging people with HIV/AIDS she states they empower them also in terms of acceptance:

> *"It is an encouragement because people in the past were afraid that when they are HIV positive, they will die or people will be laughing at them but because we stay in groups discussing issues about the disease, people are being encouraged. The food which are bought and given to them help them to be strong thereby no absent for school." (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 40).*

3.4 Participation

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

According to the aforementioned concept of inclusive education they refer to a broad concept that should address all children and also should enable them to join the educational system at a young age.

3.4.1 Specific measures

District Education Manager

With regard to issues that hint at vulnerable groups and strategies how to address them the DEM sees his main responsibility in sensitization of students, parents/community and teachers. His main focus though seems to be the support of the teachers. This means through 'orientation sessions' he provides information how teachers should deal with SNE learners – with it he refers mainly to physical impairment (sight, hearing):

> *"Respondent: We normally carry out some orientations.*
> *Interviewer 1: Orientations?*
> *Respondent: Yes, on how they can assist the special needs learners because they are of different disabilities and others do not have the opportunity to see and we have others who have got hearing problems, others have got difficulties in mobility, we need to co-opt them into the system." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 30-33).*

These sessions are organized on district level (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 35/6). He receives support by NGO's like MACOHA and FEDOMA (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 45).

Moreover he refers to being involved in preparing district educational plans (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 20).

In terms of ownership it is relevant that he points to his efforts to gain more SNE human resources (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 40).

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3.5   Most disadvantaged groups

District Education Manager

The DEM mainly refers to the following groups which he assumes are most challenged, namely SNE learners, children affected by HIV/AIDS and girls.

<u>SNE learners</u>: With regard to SNE learners he refers to a need of sensitization of the community to promote their access to education.

> *"I think one of the duties involves sensitization of the general population and the need to send their wards to school despite having certain disabilities, ya! Even the teachers that are there in the schools, we are also doing something for them so that they can be in a position to assist the special needs learners that are being co-opted into the school system." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 28).*

In terms of acceptance and participation he refers to an additional need to give support to the teachers to address these learners adequately. He calls these interventions 'orientation sessions' (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 29-38, see specific measures).

<u>Girls</u>: With regard to girls' education he at first describes a problematic situation that still exists. In his point of view he sees a preference that parents have and that still exists – If parents can afford it they will send boys to school rather than girls as the following quote illustrates:

> *"I think to us as a district, I think we can lament of girls being so vulnerable in that particular area because whenever the parents have got few resources to send the kids to school, most of them (inaudible) prefer to send a boy child to school rather than a girl child." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 55).*

This situation he describes contains several challenges – starting access to formal education as a privilege because not everyone can afford it. Consequently there seems to be a gender-specific hierarchy that may be driven by traditional convictions but also by expectations concerning educational outcome. This may be linked to risks of drop out that affect girls but also the role in the society. This again is linked to traditional values.

With regard to the current situation in terms of attendance rates he highlights a positive development in the area. This he explains by pointing out to the positive impact various interventions already had (he mentions CAMFED mainly focussing on girls' education, DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 66) and/or the sensitization of the community that has been done in the past:

> *"In terms of accessibility, at least because of numerous interventions that have gone by the past, we have recorded a bigger number of learners that have been given good access into our education system. For instance, at the moment we have more girls in the school system as compared to boys which is a positive attribute as compared to the situation which I found when I joined the system in 2005 where we had more boys than girls. So, we strongly feel that the number of sensitization that have been conducted in the past, we have managed to reach the communities and this is why we have this positive attribute in having a gender parity index" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 64).*

Children affected by HIV/AIDS: It shows that the DEM doesn't know about the situation of learners affected by HIV/AIDS – he speaks about assumptions that he has. However he points out to the need to know more about the "*needs of vulnerable children*" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 66). It seems as though he probably refers to his experiences and impressions he has concerning this

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groups and their role in society. However, he does not explain the origin of this assumption he has. Still, though he has no information about it he assumes that these children may be confronted with discrimination by fellow students in class. So while there seems to be a lack of cooperation due to lacking resources (e.g. time) a need for further information about the situation of various vulnerable learners is expressed. In comparison to the support for HIV/AIDS affected teachers (see professional qualification) he emphasizes the strategy of sensitization for learners – not only affected children but also learners that have HIV/AIDS affected children as their fellow learners. It addresses acceptance between these children and their fellow students. One initiative he mentions in this respect is the AIDS TOTO club that provides information and sensitizes mainly the students:

> "And through the establishment of the AIDS TOTO clubs, learners are also given knowledge on how they can build up their self-esteem." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 62).

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

According to the broad concept of inclusion both defines his/her responsibility targeting all vulnerable children (56). Independent from their own responsibility they reveal a broad understanding of vulnerable children.

Regarding girls they see a great challenge in terms of access and high dropout rates. Gender-related drop out they state begins with standard 4 and 5 due to initiation ceremonies, early marriage and pregnancies (103). Moreover they discuss the challenge of culturally trans-missioned values that leads to drop out despite readmission strategies (90).

Nevertheless they also see a need to also support boys. A challenge they see is that specific measures are strongly related to girls – this leads to their position to be careful not to ignore boys' needs:

> "We don't have enough resources for bursaries. We are not reaching out to every child. Boys are having problems. We have no much support for boys. We needed interventions to carter for both boys and girls not to discriminate" (BM, 94).

Finally it becomes apparent that these vulnerable groups are strongly connected. Due to the interviewers' questions the DSWO confirms that girls are not only affected by initiation ceremonies if they are orphans but also when they come from 'intact' families:

> "K: Especially when they go to initiation ceremonies. I don't know what is going on there. But after coming out of Initiation ceremonies, they drop out of school. Some are impregnated and get into marriage and the like.
> A: when you see the group of the girls who drop out of school, what kind of groups. Is it orphans?
> BM: Not only orphans, but whose parents are intact." (103-105).

However, limitations exist with respect to their responsibility according to their job definition. Against the backdrop of their responsibility the DSWO expresses she/he feels responsible for supporting the family and early education through CBCC. The OVC adds that they feel responsible for secondary learners rather than primary learners. So it seems that their protection refers to young children and children that attend secondary school. Nevertheless, they state that they are closely related to other organizations like community based ones (target group not defined, maybe broad responsibility, 45) as well as CAMFED (girls in primary education, 47) and YONECO, Youth Impact (street kids, 52).

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District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

Asked for specific disadvantaged groups the Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator confirms the problematic situations for girls. Furthermore she mentions that there are orphans in the district. Nevertheless, because she is responsible solely for students and teachers with HIV/AIDS she states that she only focuses on this group although she refers to provision also delivered by CAMFED (for all children by nutrition).

> "They are there but with our little funding we don't reach out them. Even in teacher's registers, they are there. Some are double orphans." (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 36).

This sensitivity concerning the need of students with HIV/AIDS has developed through the focus of the department and the office on teachers with HIV/AIDS.

> "Starting with teachers, we have 75 teachers in [name of district] who are HIV positive; we give them supplementary food every quarterly from the two per cent we are given in our office to buy different foods. And for children, we have just started to collect data from the head teachers because we have come to senses that not only teachers should be given supplementary foods but also children." (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 18)

3.6   Specific measure - general

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

The DSWO and OVC describe their responsibility which focuses mainly on child protection and the supports of the family.

The DSWO is subordinated to the Department of Child Development which is under the Ministry of Gender. This department is mandated to provide "care, support and protection" for the child as well as for the family. Additionally it is responsible for delinquent children. This definition of the responsibility related to this Department matches with how the DSWO introduces his/her responsibilities:

- organization of transport for repatriation to respected homes (OVC: MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 52)
- children in conflict with the law – is included in concept of child protection (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 26)
- care for children who became orphans or cannot stay at home for other reasons: provision of support of orphaned babies (foster care and adoption), refer children to orphanages (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 38)
- family care services: support of family during and after pregnancy and occurring challenges like giving birth to triplets (32, 40), these services touch various other aspects as well like marriage counselling, counselling on children's behaviour or refer the families to other institutions and services like the court (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 40)
- community based child care service (CBCCC) (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 34)
- cooperation on that with Ministry of Health
- facilitate case management for Community Child Protection Committee

Additionally he/she refers to child protection workers in the community victim support units that are installed in all fifteen traditional authorities (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 45).

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Furthermore they describe that they support the Community Child Protection Committee by facilitating the training in case management. The Committee is responsible for sensitizing the public concerning the importance of formal education. Furthermore they are responsible for abused children (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 71).

Mainly they deliver support for the family and secondary learners (56). With respect to issues the DSWO and the OVC do not feel responsible for different organizations, community based (50), CAMFED (47, 58) and YONECO, Youth Impact (52) (see emerging pattern – inter-sectorial communication). They also mention readmission strategies for girls which work with limitations. They explain drop outs of girls despite support strategies for their readmission due to their "mind-set or culture" (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 90, see also challenges).

Additionally they describe that they have partners like World Vision International, Emmanuel International, ActionAid and Impact. There exists an additional cooperation structure in this sense that these NGO's support the training of case management the DSWO and the OVC facilitate whenever they receive funds (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 72).

Further specific measures they refer to are 'Drop in Centres'. These are for school children to rest and to receive assistance with school-related issues. Moreover they mention 'part-time classes that address children to receive additional knowledge. Both programs are run by volunteers (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 76-79). Additionally they refer to programs that address older orphans and children in general with providing vocational training (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 84-86).

The OVC is working in an office at district level. He/she is responsible for the financial support of children but does not include primary education because it is supposed to be free. Further financial issues are addressed by the CAMFED-NGO (MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 47).

District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

The coordinator states on the one hand she collects data on children and teachers who are HIV positive and also monitors HIV/AIDS activities and AIDS TOTO clubs. Furthermore she is responsible for feeding programs that have been implemented in two schools (the case study school included). In these areas they have farms where they can grow crops, which she also monitors. Finally she is responsible for monitoring water and sanitation at the schools (MW_AL_SHIN_A.A._3_24.04.2014, 10, 14).

3.7   Professional qualification

District Education Manager

First of all he expresses challenges created by the shortage of SNE teachers in the district. This he explains by vaguely referring to possible obstacles for teachers to join the system (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 40). Furthermore he mentions his responsibility to sensitize and support regular teachers that deal with SNE learners (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 29-38). He adds that he is supported by two NGO's in training these teachers, namely MACOHA and FEDOMA (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 45).

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Furthermore he describes that there several initiatives especially to address teachers that are affected by HIV/AIDS: A department has been established that is responsible for supporting those teachers with quarterly food and relevant information on how to live with the virus (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 59). He also mentions the AIDS TOTO club but this seems to focus on the sensitization of learners (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 62, see most disadvantaged groups).

District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

With regard to addressing teachers with HIV/AIDS in particular the coordinator is engaged in supporting teachers to live positively with the virus. These interventions also show that the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is still a problem in Malawi that affects teachers as well as students so that the policy is needed to address these teachers in particular. This problematic situation can be traced back to the 80's. Since then there has been a growing awareness and consciousness with regard to the question how to deal with this challenging situation adequately.

3.8 Transition

Bursaries are mentioned by DSWO and OVC for girls that attend secondary school.

3.9 Opportunities

District Education Manager

(See also specific measures for initiatives that are currently taking place)

The most important positive development he mentions is the great increase in girl attendance rates. He observed a great increase since he joined the system in 2005. He explains this positive development by vaguely defined "numerous interventions" including sensitization.

> "In terms of accessibility, at least because of numerous interventions that have gone by the past, we have recorded a bigger number of learners that have been given good access into our education system. For instance, at the moment we have more girls in the school system as compared to boys which is a positive attribute as compared to the situation which I found when I joined the system in 2005 where we had more boys than girls. So, we strongly feel that the number of sensitization that have been conducted in the past, we have managed to reach the communities and this is why we have this positive attribute in having a gender parity index (inaudible)." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 64).

Moreover he notices a constantly slight positive development that results in a reduction of barriers. This is due to the efforts of every particular school in the district:

> "There are still positive developments, for instance, there are ... we have so far noted that there are a number of schools that have started developing interest in the construction of ramps, there also certain schools that are incorporating special needs learners in their schools that means by and by issues of discrimination are being reduced in those particular schools." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 47).

District School Health Nutrition HIV Coordinator

In terms of positive developments she describes the trust of teachers:

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"I can say no because those teachers who understand it come to open to tell us their status like when we do our sensitization of TILIPO when other teachers fail to give their status on public, they come to our office to give their names and status. This shows that people are open to join TILIPO group." (26)

3.10 Challenges

District Education Manager

He sees challenges in existing barriers and the unavailability of teaching and learning material (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 41, 43).

Moreover he sees a great need for SNE teachers. He adds that he tried to support the provision of SNE teachers. However, he refers to some 'hurdles' including challenges for new teachers to join the schools:

"There are a number of challenges particularly on the number of special needs teachers that we have in the district, they are not enough to cover the whole district. We have tried our best to lobby with the central office for the provision of these special needs teachers but ah! they are still having hurdles to be given new teachers that can join the institutions." (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 40)

Furthermore, he sees a great need to have information about the needs of the various vulnerable groups. He refers to girls to make his point clear:

"I think no matter whatever the situation might be, we need to find out first of all from the learners themselves before we can implement anything otherwise we might be addressing a problem that does not exist, so we need to find out first of all, what are the needs of vulnerable children? For instance, we have other institutions in the district that have got a keen interest in assisting the vulnerable children, for instance, CAMFED, it's assisting girl children who have dropped out of the school system because of poverty" (DEM_ MW_AL_EI_Ex_LC_LC_2.1_24.04.2014, 66).

District Social Welfare Officer and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Coordinator

The DSWO and the OVC identifies a number of challenges including the still high dropout rate as an indication that there is still a need for more interventions. They describe that while many students start school at first many of them drop out with every additional grade. This is a problem especially for girls as they are affected by cultural values, initiation ceremonies, early marriages and pregnancies. They are also affected by cultural values so strongly that they sometimes cannot be motivated to come back to school after the baby's birth. Nevertheless, the DSWO states that girls' education is already strongly supported – in this area by CAMFED. He/she points out to the necessity not to forget the boys' needs about these efforts. Further aspects mentioned refer to lacking financial resources (with regard to the bursaries for secondary learners, 94/5) and lacking human resources (99).

3.11 Recommendation

- Need for more SNE teachers
- Still a need sensitization especially regarding community/SNE learners
- Need for information/data/transparency with regard to certain situation of vulnerable groups in the schools

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3.11.1 Similar perspectives

The DEM, DSWO and the OVC and Health Coordinator discuss the crucial role of culture and tradition with regard to girls' education. The DSWO and the OVC discuss the cultural influence on the mind-set of girls in this regard. This influence is responsible for the fact that girls do not come back to school even if they are offered incentives. They see a great need to sensitize the general public with respect to the needs of all children, not only girls, to come to school (they refer to the child protection committee that does a lot of sensitization):

> *"Yah, in Primary of course at Community level, there are structures like Community Child Protection Committees and these committees they make much more sensitization on the community on the need for every child to go to primary Schools." (71)*

The DSWO concludes:

> *"The culture is not assisting us." (92)*

The cooperation with NGO's seems to be an integral part of the professionals' scope of action. Their support is basic for the professionals work and decisions (DEM, DSWO, OVC). The OVC for instance refers to CAMFED supporting primary school children with financial resources. NGO's that leaving the are also disturbs an interdependent pattern that has to reorganize as a consequence (see DEM).

In general they feel responsible only for secondary learners. In this respect the DSWO and the OVC speak about the cooperation with other organizations, not just NGO's, but Community based organizations in general. In this respect they know what their responsibility is and refer children to the organizations in this regard (50). Concrete they mention working "hand in hand" with an organization named YONECO, Youth impact, that focuses on children from the streets in particular. They communicate and refer to each other in this regard and feel responsible for children from the streets when it comes to repatriation because many of them come from different areas (54).

"As of now as an office, we don't have an actual service we conduct. But we just leave to other organisations like YONECO, Youth Impact. They are the ones that are working closely with the Street kids. We work hand in hand suppose there are certain issues that is supposed may be to assist the street kids, we are communicated. So we provide any other support that is necessary suppose the child needs to be repatriated to his or her respected home, so we provide transport for that." (52)

3.11.2 Contrasts/Difference of perspectives

The Health Coordinator refers to a very limited field of responsibility. Though she also recognizes other challenges she focuses on a single group of children. She states this is also caused by lacking financial resources.

3.12 Discussion (meso-level)

All participants refer to the same groups which they judge to be affected by educational disadvantage and various challenges with specific reference to access, acceptance and participation. Though this is much stronger on the micro level it also becomes obvious that different groups of children are affected in different ways, orphans and children with HIV/AIDS in terms of acceptance and consequently with respect to participation, girls in terms of access, SNE learners with regard to all three dimensions.

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Furthermore they refer to similar issues concerning the main challenges: lack of adequate (financial and human) resources and the role of education in the broader cultural context of society. Accordingly they refer to similar strategies how to deal with these challenges. They all highlight strategies that contain components of sensitization of the community and the parents (particularly this is expanded to fellow students and teachers).

Different scopes of action due to political structures and a vast but vital array of NGO activities: Additional challenges have to be mentioned. Especially as there is not a strong focus on primary school education by all groups on meso-level it becomes apparent that the inter-sectorial communication on the meso-level is a crucial issue. Due to different ministries these offices report to the professionals have limited scopes of action. Whereas the DSWO and OVC are under the Ministry of Gender, the DEM and Health Coordinator are under MoEST. Nevertheless, they also have very different responsibilities. The means that the professionals have to be highly aware of gatekeepers and stakeholders that gain importance when they reach the boundaries of responsibility. It is therefore clear that more cooperation between different stakeholders is needed. This is difficult due to the high complexity which results from various NGO's that are involved in various areas in Malawi and especially with different agendas themselves. However, as the DEM states they are regarded as indispensable which becomes apparent especially when they leave the field (see DEM).

With regard to lacking resources the role of ownership is crucial and with regard to inclusive education the data shows that the professionals discuss this concept in terms of their own responsibility.

4   Data Base

Micro-Level

Kind of Data Collection (Interview/FGD/ Observation)	Name of Interviewee/Participants of FGD and Position	Name of Transcript/Audio File
Interview	Head teacher	MW_AL_HEADTEACHER_KII_AM_LC_3.5_13.06.2014
FGD	Teachers	MW_AL_FG_T_LC_LC_3.6_10.06.2014
FGD	Girls	MW_AL_GIRLS_FGD_LC_AM_3.4_09.06.2014
FGD	Mother Group	MW_AL_FG_MG_LC_LC_3.7_11.06.2014
FGD	Father support group	MW_AL_FG_FG_LC_LC_3.8_12.06.2014
FGD	Young Mothers	MW_AL_FG_YM_LC_LC_3.11_12.06.2014
FGD	Parents of OVC and SNE learners	MW_AL_SNEPARENTS_A_L_3.1_09.06.2014

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Interview	Chief	MW_AL_CHIEF_AM_LC_AM_3.3. 12.06.2014
FGD	OVC Learners	MW_AL_FG_OVC_LC_LC_3.9_12. 06.2014
FGD	Learners with special needs	MW_AL_FG_SNE_LC_LC_3.10_09 .06.2014
FGD	School Management Committee/PTA	MW_AL_SMC_PTA_AM_LC_11.06 .2014
Lesson Observation	Mathematics Standard 2	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_4_ 10.06.2014
Lesson Observation	Chichewa Standard 2	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_3_ 10.06.2014
Lesson Observation	English Standard 4	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_2_ 10.06.2014
Lesson Observation	Mathematics Standard 4	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_1_ 10.06.2014
Lesson Observation	English Standard 7	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_6_ 10.06.2014
Lesson Observation	Mathematics Standard 7	MW_AL_OB_LES_AM_LC_CD_5_ 10.06.2014
School Observation		

Meso-Level

Kind of Data Collection (Interview/FGD/ Observation)	Name of Interviewee/Participants of FGD and Position	Name of Transcript/Audio File
Interview	District Education Manager	MW_AL_EI_EX_LC_LC_2.1_24.04. 2014
Interview	DSWO	MW_AL_EI_A_A_2_24.04.2014
Interview	SHIN Coordinator	MW_AL_SHIN_A_A_3_24.04.201 4
Interview	DSWO	MW_AL_EI_A_A_2_24.04.2014
Interview	SHN Coordinator	MW_AL_SHIN_A_A_3_24.04.201 4